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OUR PHILIPPINE POLICIES AND THEIR RESULTS

By Hon. W. Morgan Shuster

An Address Delivered at Clark University, September 14, 1909, during the
Conference Upon the Far East

When a person presumes to address a considerable number of his fellows on any subject he should at least believe himself to be something of an expert, to have something more than the average knowledge of the matters of which he talks—and as our courts have the very good practice of requiring an expert witness to “qualify” as such before permitting him to express opinions, I shall endeavor to do so, briefly, by stating that I have lived in the Philippines for nearly eight years, during which period I have held the office of insular collector of customs, and subsequently, for the last two years and a half, the positions of secretary of public instruction and member of the Philippine Commission. I have visited practically every province in the islands at least once—some of them many times—and have been thoroughly in touch, chiefly through my knowledge of Spanish, with a great number of the leading Filipinos in all walks of life. I believe that I know something of our work and of the existing situation there and that I can pass an unbiased judgment on them. I may err in some of my opinions, but the mistakes will be due entirely to my limited powers of observation and deduction, and not to any bias or conscious diversion from the strict truth.

I hold no brief for anyone, and look back on the eight years of my stay in those islands and labors among the people there with pleasure and deep satisfaction. They were years full of experience, struggles and some hardships, but the results obtained outweighed the disappointments, and the impression now left on my mind is one of fixed determination to do what I can in future to add to our knowledge of conditions there and to aid in bringing about a just apprecia-

tion of our work there and of the Filipino people, in whose behalf it is being performed.

STATEMENT OF OUR POLICIES

Our national policies in the Philippines are fairly well known. They are based on altruism of the highest sort. With them no fair-minded man can possibly find fault. Indeed I have hardly ever heard such a person seriously attempt to do so. Criticisms and attacks on what has been done have usually been confined to the methods pursued in working out the details of the larger policies, which is a subject on which fair-minded and intelligent people may well differ in regard to any great enterprise.

For convenience, I shall consider my subject in the following order: our larger policies; their detailed execution and application; their results today.

Briefly put, what we have set out to do in the Philippines is to establish and maintain law, public order and loyalty to the flag of the United States; to inaugurate step by step, a system of popular government, in which the local affairs of the municipalities, townships and provinces shall be managed by elected native officials; to establish a great system of free public schools, primary and secondary, academic, agricultural and industrial, all tending to fit the Filipinos for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community; to create an efficient, fearless and impartial judiciary, securing alike to rich and poor, American, Filipino and foreigner, a fair trial and speedy justice; to assure to the people of the Philippines all the guarantees of the Federal Constitution, except the right to bear arms and to a trial by jury, for neither of which privileges they are at present prepared; to observe the material, personal and social rights of the Filipinos; and, as expressed, in the concluding paragraph of President McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission,

to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm, and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine islands.

We are attempting to raise the material, moral and intellectual standards of more than seven millions of people, to instill into them Anglo-Saxon ideas and methods, to dignify honest toil, to create in them a national spirit, to give them a common language, and to teach them, by practical but gradual experience, to be at some future date the arbiters of their own destiny as a people.

A more high-minded course for a great and powerful nation to pursue towards a weak and dependent people whom the fortunes of war had cast into her hands, can hardly be imagined. I believe that it is wholly unique in history, and I venture the prediction that it will remain so for a long time to come. Charity and altruism among nations are not nearly so contagious as with individuals.

So far as we may judge from the results of two national elections, the great majority of the American people are in hearty accord with these policies, and they may well be so.

HOW THESE POLICIES HAVE BEEN EXECUTED AND APPLIED

I pass now to a more interesting phase of our discussion, which is the practical execution of these abstract principles and their detailed, daily application to the countless questions arising in the government, education and improvement of a hitherto unknown people, scattered over 3,000 islands, large and small, which cover an area of 127,853 square miles. The exact number of inhabitants is held to be 7,635,000, of which about 6,987,000 are rated as civilized and 648,000 as uncivilized. The degrees of civilization, however, shade so gradually that it would be difficult to make anything but an arbitrary distinction.

Of the ten years of American control of the Philippines three were spent in repressing an insurrection and in pacifying a war-scourged populace, so that but seven years of real opportunity for constructive work have been available. During that time much has been accomplished.

By means of the Philippine constabulary, a body recruited entirely from the natives, although largely officered by Americans, and with the strong moral support of the United

States army and their occasional active aid, the islands have been policed into a state of comparative quiet, and banditism, with its accompanying misfortunes, if not entirely wiped out, is at least on the wane. When I left the islands, a year ago last February, there were a number of noted outlaws still at large, but they have been so harried and hunted that they can do but little harm, and their capture or violent end is only a matter of time.

In the Moro province there is comparative peace, but outbreaks by those untamed fanatics may be expected for many years to come. Overwhelming force appears to be the only means of making a lasting impression upon them. They were one of the greatest problems with which the Spaniards were called to deal from the beginning of their régime in the Philippines, and they proved indomitable alike by the bullets of the Spanish soldiery or the teachings of their missionaries. A strong, quasi-military government is the only one suited to deal with the Moro problem, which must be clearly distinguished from the general Filipino problem. The Filipinos are Christians and by nature peaceable; the Moros are Mohammedans and by nature turbulent, lawless and bloodthirsty; the Filipinos hate and fear them, and it is not too much to say that if the strong arm of the United States were removed from the Philippines to-day, the native government would have a most serious problem in the control of these fierce warriors of Sulu and Mindanao.

The Philippine Commission, of which President Taft was the head, was charged by President McKinley with the establishment of a civil government, and was given general power to legislate for the islands, including the raising of taxes and the appropriation of insular funds, and among other things, was authorized and directed to provide for a system of courts. The Commission reached Manila in June, 1900, and assumed its active duties on September 1st of that year. One of its early acts was to divide the islands into judicial districts and institute trial courts and a supreme court, which did much to reestablish law and order in the islands. The complicated and obsolete Spanish procedure was replaced by comparatively simple codes, which at least

bring an issue to trial, and appeals are now settled promptly, and upon the merits of the controversy rather than on purely technical grounds. The change from the former system, while disliked by many Spanish lawyers, can be better imagined than described. The great weakness of our present judicial system in the Philippines lies in the justice of the peace courts, which are conducted by Filipinos who are often incompetent, prejudiced and even worse. The insular revenues are insufficient to provide adequate salaries for these justices, who receive their compensation by certain fees and the result is a rather low-grade set of magistrates. As a great part of all the litigation in the islands, especially that in which the ignorant classes become involved, never goes beyond the justice courts, due to the minor nature of the cases, these inferior magistrates have been and are a source of great abuse, disorder and even crime. The central government has done its best to remedy this state of affairs, but the question is largely one of funds with which to pay fixed salaries sufficient to secure a better grade of native justices.

The Philippine judiciary as a whole, however, both in its American and Filipino membership, is distinctly a credit to our nation, and both has been and will continue to be one of the greatest factors in the uplifting and education of the people of the islands.

President McKinley instructed the Philippine Commission to regard as of first importance the establishment of a system of free primary education, and to give full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language.

Along these lines, during the past seven years, substantial progress has already been made, and I doubt if ever before a system of free public schools for so large a population has been so rapidly provided, under such adverse conditions, and at so slight a cost per pupil.

The education of the Filipinos has from the very first been one of our main policies in the islands. Thousands of free primary schools have been established, and hundreds of young Americans have been sent into the most distant parts of the

islands to teach and supervise their native assistants. Nearly 3,000 schoolhouses of all kinds have been constructed. In 1908 there were 4009 schools throughout the islands. Of these, 3,701 were primary, 193 intermediate, 35 arts and trades, 12 agricultural, 30 domestic science, and 38 provincial high schools. The islands are divided into 36 school divisions, each in charge of an American superintendent, and these divisions are subdivided into 460 school districts, each in charge of a supervising teacher, usually an American. Including these, there are about 900 American teachers and approximately 6,000 Filipino teachers, a great part of whom are graduates from the normal and high schools established by our government. English is, and should remain, the language of the schools. There has recently been some agitation among certain Filipino demagogues to have the native dialects taught in the schools, with the evident intention of diminishing or detracting from the teaching of English. It is to be hoped that no consideration will be given to the proposal. There is no danger of the children not learning their native dialect—whatever may be taught in the schools.

I believe that it is no exaggeration to say that if our great experiment in the Philippines is to be carried to a successful conclusion along the altruistic and beneficent lines which we have announced to the world; if we are to make of the Filipinos not a race of coolies and peons, fit only to till the soil, bear the burdens and take orders from a superior race—but if we are to make them into an intelligent, cultured, self-respecting and capable people, prepared to take their position in the world's onward march, that result can be accomplished only by the systematic, patient education of all the people. Free public schools must be maintained in sufficient numbers to give every child of proper age a common school education, in the English language, coupled with an opportunity for all who desire it to acquire special training in agriculture or in some art or trade. Full opportunity must be given them to enter the higher scholastic branches and to advance as far as they may desire in purely academic learning. It is useless to hold forth ideals of equality, pop-

ular government, constitutional rights, social recognition and good citizenship to a people of whom we seek to make only rice-growers and coolies. I do not pretend to pass here upon the feasibility or the advisability of the policies which we have adopted or the ideals which we have held before them, but I do say that, having boldly announced those policies and set those ideals, we can only carry them out through a broadly conceived and sincerely executed educational system, in which the "little red schoolhouse," the manual training shop, the agricultural school and farm, and the college and university shall each play its proper role. Even on this basis the work of intellectual renovation will require much time and patience. We need not expect one generation of education of the masses to produce such stupendous results. The training of the present generation of Filipinos will, of necessity, be somewhat superficial, but the ground will have been broken and the improvement thereafter will be steady and sure. It seems to me useless to talk of "years" in connection with such a task. To raise to even ordinary modern standards seven millions, and their increment, of people who have never been anything but a dependent Malayan colony will require time which may be better expressed in some larger unit, such as "decades" or "generations." At present, although the Philippine Assembly has shown every disposition to cooperate with the government in making appropriations for the educational work, and in spite of the sacrifices made by the people themselves, there are at least 800,000 children, of school age, for whom there are no public school facilities, due to lack of insular funds. About 400,000 children are at present receiving free public instruction.

The municipal and provincial governments are now practically autonomous, and they afford a fair basis for estimating the present capacity of the Filipinos to conduct, even on a minor scale, their fiscal and other public affairs. While there are some exceptions, the provincial governments have not been strikingly successful in the management of their finances or in the maintenance of highways, two of the most important duties committed to them. In other respects they have, as a rule, shown some results. The municipal

governments have usually entered upon a career of frenzied finance, apparently deeming it their first duty to exhaust the local treasury by appropriating money for the salaries of a select coterie of officials. The municipal police force, which was intended to be an important factor in the preservation of order and detection of crime, has, outside of the city of Manila, been a disgrace and a laughing-stock. It has universally been regarded as one of the "perquisites" of the local *presidente*, to which he was to appoint his indigent relatives and henchmen, regardless of their courage or fitness, and from which he was to draft his personal servants, messengers and attendants. It is a peculiar fact that police forces all over the world seem to be the chief stamping-grounds for corrupt politicians and grafters, and certainly, if that trait be indicative of high civilization, our Filipino municipal officers, in that respect, at least, need no education from us.

But at all events no just claim may be made that the fullest and fairest opportunity has not been given to the Filipinos to manage their local affairs, and the mistake, if any there be, has been in giving them more than they could assimilate, rather than too little.

The system of raising taxes in the Philippines is simple and just, and while the taxes imposed by our government have been the subject of bitter complaint, they are reasonable and the burden equitably distributed. The total income from taxation in the Philippines during the year 1908, including the insular government, provincial and municipal governments, and the city of Manila, was less than \$15,000,000, or a *per capita* contribution, on the basis of the census of 1903, of about \$1.91. This is said to be the lowest taxation imposed by any civilized government in the world, and doubtless is so. It must be noted, however, that while rated as civilized, a large number of the Filipinos have but little more of this world's goods than some of the uncivilized people of the globe. They are improvident in the extreme, and are often poor beyond description. No one who has not lived and traveled in the country can realize the impoverished aspect of the average Filipino village. The impression produced is

that it would take a lynx-eyed revenue officer to find any taxable property or industry at all. So that, while the taxation now imposed is very low, compared with other countries, it is quite as much as the Philippines can stand at the present time. The principal sources of government income are from customs duties and internal revenue on such articles as spirits, tobacco, matches and from licenses.

Soon after the assumption of legislative power by the Philippine Commission a civil service law was enacted, which, while subject to the usual criticisms, has redounded to the credit of the government and made for the improvement and cleanliness of the insular service in general. Under the operation of this law, many Filipinos have been encouraged to fit themselves for work in the different branches of the government.

Along the line of public works great progress has been made. Over 500 miles of roads have been built, and great numbers of bridges and culverts have been constructed and repaired. The American government has built nearly 100 lighthouses, and has located almost an equal number of buoys about the islands; it has already spent five years in the work of charting the archipelago. Over \$3,000,000 has been spent on improving Manila harbor and \$800,000 on the port works at Iloilo and Cebu. In sanitation great strides have been made, especially in the city of Manila, where a new gravity water system and a modern sewerage system have just been completed. Outside of Manila and a few of the larger provincial towns, the task of imposing sanitary rules on seven millions of people, scattered in small villages over an immense territory, is a gigantic, if not impossible one, until the education of the masses shall have secured to the government some more substantial degree of cooperation by the people themselves. The police and fire departments of Manila render most efficient service, as do the postal and telegraph offices. Concessions have been granted for the building of 750 miles of railroad, distributed over various islands, and a considerable amount of track has already been laid.

Among other things, the public lands have been thrown

open for settlement, a system of government guarantee for the titles of real property has been instituted, the entire legal procedure has been reformed, parts of the Spanish substantive law have been repealed, substituted or modified, the prisons have been put upon a modern, humanitarian basis, industrial education is being afforded to the prisoners, and postal savings banks and an agricultural bank are operated by the government.

There is entire freedom of speech and liberty of the press. The Philippine Assembly now participates with the Commission in all legislation except that affecting territory inhabited by Moros and other non-Christian peoples. Congress has granted the islands two resident commissioners to the United States, who are admitted to the floor of our lower house.

This and much more has been done in pursuance of the instructions of President McKinley of April 7, 1900. These instructions themselves have often been described as a model state paper, and certainly no one can read them, realizing that they were penned by a man who had never seen the Philippine Islands, without a profound admiration for the writer's keen insight into the actual conditions there. They have been the basis of all our policies in dealing with the Filipinos, and an important part of them has been adopted in the organic act of Congress for the government of the islands.

In the execution of these policies the Philippine Commission, during the seven years that it was the sole legislative body, passed some 1800 laws, and during the same period a large number of executive orders and decrees were promulgated.

SOME RESULTS TO-DAY OF THESE POLICIES

It is not my intention to discuss in detail the progress made along any particular lines of governmental activity, but rather to deal with some of the results of our general policies which have so far become evident, after ten years of our occupancy of the islands.

We know a good many things about the Philippines, the Filipinos, the Orient and the tropics, that we could not know ten years ago, and we doubtless have yet a great deal more to learn. Thus a twofold education is going on. We are giving to the Filipinos a western, modern scholastic and political education, and they, in turn, are teaching us, through our administrators, officials and private citizens there, something of the art of governing a Malayan people, of the science of tropico-oriental colonial administration — and it is not too much to say that there is almost as much to be learned on one side as on the other. That a number of mistakes have been made is not surprising. That many more will be made in future is almost certain, but fortunately for the Filipinos our mistakes as to them have been in the carrying out of our policies, in the practical application of our announced principles, rather than in the basic policies and principles themselves.

The Philippines and the Filipinos have been made the subject of so many utterances which were manifestly intended to fit some particular occasion, or to secure some special object, that one who would avoid that defect must be extremely careful.

It is hard to generalize on a whole race without doing some injustice.

We have all heard the Filipino described as an idle, treacherous, ungrateful, corrupt and unworthy individual; a sullen savage when ignorant; a bombastic and shallow orator when belonging to the educated class. Doubtless this picture fits some, but it is an outrageous calumny on the vast majority. As a matter of fact, the average Filipino, even when ignorant, is by nature law-abiding and peaceable; properly led, he is a brave and loyal soldier; properly fed and treated, he is a reliable, efficient and economical laborer; properly educated, he is an unusually intelligent, cultured and refined gentleman. He has the Latin predilection for high-sounding words and oratorical effect, and when uneducated, he is far too easily swayed by the conscienceless and deceitful demagogues among his own countrymen.

Perhaps the most oft-repeated charge against him, as a

race, is that he is lazy. At first sight there appears to be considerable justification for the statement, but I believe that mature investigation will show that he is not lazy in the ordinary sense of the word. At worst, he merely has a different philosophy from ours. When aroused or stimulated in some way, often by an appeal to his patriotism or his pride, he will labor faithfully and cheerfully, undergoing appalling hardships without complaint. He believes, however, that under normal conditions, he should do just sufficient work to live. This is hardly a physical characteristic, but rather a novel mental attitude. Such physical laziness as there is among them, I have been assured by a highly educated Filipino physician, is due entirely to the fact that nine-tenths of the lower classes, the masses, eat only the minimum amount of food with which human life may be sustained. The great majority of these support life parasitically, by subsisting, after a fashion, on the spontaneous productions of the soil. They gather and produce no more than the minimum above-mentioned, because of their mental attitude, and, producing no more, they cannot eat more. This may sound like a curious statement, but experience has demonstrated beyond cavil that the average Filipino, when fed on a substantial American ration, becomes a different man, physically and mentally, and will do efficient work of the hardest kind. Their general condition is not unlike that of the "clay-eaters" of the South, and we know from them how little is to be expected of an insufficiently nourished community.

For several centuries the Filipino has been accustomed to doing nothing beyond the bare necessary acts of living, except at the behest of some one above him in power, intelligence and authority. The Spanish government in the islands was the embodiment of "paternalism," and did not encourage independence of action or thought on the part of the natives. Such things were severely frowned upon, to put it mildly. Yet to-day many of us are surprised that the Filipinos do not rise to an immediate appreciation of their civic obligations, responsibilities and public duties; that they do not volunteer to build good roads, that they

do not keep their towns in sanitary condition and perform, instinctively as individuals, the many other acts of good citizenship which we are accustomed to see in more enlightened countries.

In Spanish times it was a common occurrence for the parish priest, who was the real power in every Filipino village, to call the native *presidente* and other local officials to his convent on each Sunday, and take them to task for their failure to keep the streets in good condition, or for the failure of the people to plant crops, or to point out some needed public work and direct that it should be done within a specified time. This was "paternalism" of a high order, and was even abusive at times; it could never be called popular government, but the work was done and the general public benefited by the results. The parish priest was an energetic individual and a stern task-master; he was omnipresent in his district. He was the vital force, and practically nothing was done except by his direction. This was the experience which the Filipinos had in the past with public duties. I only mention it to show how ridiculous it is to expect them, in a few short years, to change the habits of generations, and suddenly develop a spontaneous nervous energy in behalf of themselves which they have never before possessed.

One result of our régime in the Philippines has been to teach us something of the enormous physical obstacles which of themselves are a great drag upon the work of uplifting, morally, intellectually and materially, the Filipino people. One must live years in the islands to realize fully what these obstacles are. The natural languor produced by a warm and comparatively changeless climate; the torrential rains and ensuing floods, which annually wipe out whole river towns, ruin crops, carry away bridges and obliterate the best constructed roads; typhoons which blow down scores of houses, level whole fields of hemp and groves of cocoanuts, destroy the growing rice, and wipe out the food supply on which thousands of people depend for their support; droughts which every year, in some province or provinces, produce similar unfortunate results;

rinderpest, which decimates the work animals; enormous swarms of locusts which devour growing crops in a night; fires, which, owing to the highly inflammable nature of the houses, frequently sweep an entire large town; to say nothing of occasional onslaughts of cholera, small-pox and bubonic plague, although these latter troubles have now been almost entirely conquered. These are hard facts. I have witnessed many such occurrences myself, and know absolutely of many more. They are not the lurid tales of a traveler, but may be confirmed by anyone who has lived some years in the islands.

These continued calamities have produced three very marked and lamentable effects upon the Filipinos, which must be taken into consideration. First, they absolutely pauperize large numbers of people in an already impoverished community; secondly, they make "fatalists" of the people, and tend to develop in them the *laissez-faire* attitude and a strong disinclination to struggle against the adverse forces of nature; thirdly, the numerous instances in which sufferers from these accidents have merited and received help, in the form of food and money from the central government, have led the people to look to the government for assistance of that nature whenever, for any reason, their affairs do not prosper as they desire. As the only resources of the central government are derived by taxing the people themselves, the hoisting of oneself by one's bootstraps comes at once to our mind.

These incidents are sufficient to show that the forces of nature have been, are, and will continue to be a heavy handicap on all progress in the islands. They must be carefully reckoned with and discounted in any enterprise there, either public or private.

Another result of our experience so far in the Philippines has been to place squarely before us the vital question of how best and most rapidly to uplift and regenerate the great mass of the people. Is it to be done by seeking to impose upon them a greater amount of individual effort in the planting of crops, the tilling of the soil, the construction of roads, and, in general, by working harder and longer, and

producing more, because we tell them that they *should produce* more; or should we strive, by indirection and suaver methods, to stimulate their own desires to produce more, by showing them the practical benefits of more food, better houses, better clothing, and the many little conveniences of modern life?

The first method is the more direct, but it offers many difficulties. Under a government which holds that no man may be compelled to do anything but obey the laws, it is hard to see how we can make a man work harder than he wants to, unless a compulsory labor law should be devised, and there are serious constitutional objections to that, to say nothing of the impracticability of its enforcement.

The second course seems to be the only feasible one, and again the schools come forward as the most effectual allies. Children go home from the schools where they have been brought in contact with their teachers and their more progressive and better-clad playmates. In time the seed of envy begins to sprout, and soon perceiving that their parents can give them nothing more, the idea of securing better clothes, better and more abundant food, furniture and books through their own efforts forces itself upon them, and from that moment the task of "uplifting" a young citizen is fairly started. There can be no denying that this method is slow, and those of us who look for very definite results within our time will be disappointed, but the underlying principle is sound, and, if persisted in, success will be assured.

Much has been said of the desirability of encouraging American and foreign capital to invest in Philippine industries and enterprises. There can be no doubt whatever that outside capital invested there, to even a moderate extent, would do much to hasten the development of the natural resources and to benefit the Filipinos in a material way—but it must be remembered that substantial and solid moneyed men are not in the habit of putting large sums into a distant country unless they can read its future with a considerable degree of certainty.

What the American possible investor in the Philippines wants and is entitled to know is, for how long he may depend

upon his own government remaining as the sovereign there. It is true that our highest executive officials connected with the administration of the islands have stated that a considerable time must elapse before we can contemplate withdrawing from our control of the situation. Two generations at least, seem to be recognized by those who know, as the minimum time which must pass before there can be any radical change in our relations to the Philippines. Capital, however, is not in the habit of acting on mere expressions of opinion in matters so vital to its safety, and for this reason I believe that a declaration at the proper time by Congress of the United States that our sovereignty will not be withdrawn from the islands for a period of at least fifty years, and when at any time thereafter, then only on conditions which would fully safeguard the rights of investors there, would go far to reassure those who are at present deterred by the comparative uncertainty in which the future of the Philippines is veiled. Such a declaration by Congress, it is true, would not bind any future Congress, but it would give the weight and solemnity of legislative action to what is now a mere matter of opinion.

The peace and tranquillity of the islands would also greatly benefit from such action, and while there might be a temporary outcry from certain rabid native politicians, who live by preying upon the prejudices and passions of their uneducated fellows, the final result would be to give a stability to our government and to the execution of our policies, and an industrial impulse to the whole country, which could be obtained in no other way. As it is now, a large number of natives are being constantly wrought upon by the promises and exhortations of a class of demagogues, who in every election, municipal, provincial or for the assembly, raise the issue of "immediate independence," invoke hostility to America and things American, and keep the laboring classes in a constant state of excitement and perturbation, while the fields lie untilled or the crops ungathered.

The task which we have undertaken in the Philippines cannot be lightly or quickly accomplished. We are new at colonial administration, but the English can tell us some

things that they have learned by experience. Their policies in dealing with inferior races are often diametrically opposed to ours, but they can teach us that in matters of government, at least, one "cannot hustle the East," and that the science of governing in the Orient is a life study for any man.

If we are to attain any permanent results in the uplifting of the Filipino people; if we are to earn the applause of the world for accomplishing faithfully what we have so confidently set out to do; if we are to win the respect and eternal gratitude of the Filipino people of the future, then we must continue patiently along the general lines laid down in the instructions of President McKinley, but we must absolutely remove the Philippine Islands, its government and its local interests, from the arena of American politics, select skilled administrators who are willing to make of their duties a life work, and give to them the fullest moral and material support, and the freest possible hand in the execution of our policies. I am aware that that is asking an impossibility, but I make the statement in the hope that in time we shall come to realize its truth and desirability.